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ABSTRACT

This document consists of part one of a book of readings that examine issues affecting men in the late 20th century. It was written for counselors at all educational levels, social workers, community therapists, private practitioners, clinicians, teachers, hospital workers, and Employee Assistance Program workers. Four chapters are included in this first section, which is on personal growth and societal expectations. "Men on a Journey" (Fred Leafgren) explores men in the context of their culture and identifies the positive impact counselors can make both on the lives of these men and on the culture. "Finding Ourselves: Self-Esteem, Self-Disclosure, and Self-Acceptance" (Ron May) explores how men's self-esteem is developed, methods of intervention, strategies for change for men who have low self-esteem, and an approach to developing an awareness of feelings. "Assessing Men's Gender Role Conflict" (James O'Neil) provides concepts to assess this conflict and a diagnostic schema to use in counseling, psychotherapy, and educational programming. "Career Themes in Counseling and Psychotherapy With Men" (Thomas Skovholt) identifies how the culture prepares men for the work world. Case studies are cited that illustrate career dilemmas that men face. (NB)

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PERSONAL GROWTH AND SOCIETAL EXPECTATIONS

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Men's journey in life is highly dependent upon the culture that can both facilitate and restrict human growth and development.

Chapter 1
MEN ON A JOURNEY

Fred Leafgren

Man's journey begins at birth. In many instances, this journey has its beginnings in a family that has expectations about the life of the individual even before birth. All men may be created equal according to the constitution, but they are not all born into equal circumstances in terms of socioeconomic, racial, or family environments. Some individuals will not experience the traditional family environment. Nevertheless, the journey begins.

The journey is a multifaceted one throughout men's lives. It is a journey of physical growth and development from birth to infancy, the childhood years, adolescence, young adulthood, age 30 transition, middle adulthood, mid-life transition, age 50 transition, culmination of middle adulthood, and late-adult transition. It is also a journey through the educational system of our country from kindergarten, elementary school, junior high school, senior high school, and for many, technical-vocational training, college, and professional training.

Men's journey is also one of psychological development. According to Erikson (1959), the journey includes developing basic trust, autonomy, initiative, identity, intimacy, generativity, and integrity. At the same time men are on a journey to learn how to achieve, to succeed, to control, to maintain power, to compete. It is a journey of belonging, a journey to maintain safety and security, a journey to establish self-esteem, social identity, sexual identity, relationships, and values. The individual must also cope with such issues as basic competence, intelligence, temperament, physical strength, stamina, health, and physical appearance. These are the givens in each man's life, the basic ingredients that give him the opportunity to build his life. The various elements of the journey are woven together like a fine tapestry, each making its own unique contribution to the total personality that emerges.

Throughout this journey, there are peaks and valleys. There are successes and failures. Some expectations are met and others go unfulfilled. William James, in *The Principles of Psychology* (1890), proposed that:

> In its widest possible sense, however, a man's self is a sum total of all that he can call his, not only his body and his psychic

> powers but his clothes and his house, his wife and children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and work, his land and horses, and yacht and bank account. All these things give him the same emotions. If they wax and prosper, he feels triumphant but if they dwindle and die away, he feels cast down. (p. 291)

Effects of Cultural Expectations

The cultures in which men live affect their lives enormously. The impact of the culture on men's lives is much greater than most of us are aware. Cultures establish norms, expectations, and goals for how we live, why we live, and what we ought to be accomplishing. Cultures in which we live influence everything that happens. We know that cultures can encourage and support positive human growth and development. Cultures can also discourage and restrict human growth and development. We remain largely unaware of the aspects of the culture that affect us positively and those that affect us negatively. There is a basic assumption that whatever the culture promotes is positive. Living in the culture blinds our objectively viewing its impact because we are so enmeshed in it. We are like fish that do not know water exists until they are out of it. Eric Fromm (1955) maintained:

> The statement that man can live under any condition is only half true; it must be supplemented by the other statement that if he lives under conditions which are contrary to his nature and to the basic requirements for human growth and sanity, he cannot help reacting; he must either deteriorate and perish, or bring about conditions which are more in accordance with his needs. (p. 19)

Fromm further reported that psychiatrists and psychologists were beginning to recognize that contemporary American society as a whole may lack sanity judging by the problems of mental health and well-being. He raised major concerns about the culture and society in which we live. He concluded that our culture and society results in individuals' living lives of massive maladjustment in terms of the optimal human condition, even though they may be adjusted to the culture and society in which they live.

Men often face a paradox in coping with their culture. On the one hand, the more successful they are in meeting cultural expectations, the more harm they may be doing to their basic human needs, motivations, and the essentials for living mentally healthy lives. On the other hand,

failure to meet cultural expectations can produce havoc in self-worth and self-esteem. Cultural norms, the expectations of others, the standards of society, all become gauges that many men use to determine a sense of worth. Failure to meet these expectations can diminish their self-esteem in significant ways and have massive detrimental effects on the emotional health and well-being. Men's need to validate themselves by cultural standards is a powerful force in their lives. Most men are unable to separate themselves to any significant degree from cultural role expectations. Most men are unable to listen to their internal self and use that as a standard by which to gauge their well-being, their worth, the value of their existence.

Men who are Black, Native American, Hispanic, or Oriental experience additional forces on their journey that press on them to meet the expectations of the American culture. A traditional culture that sets the expectations may also, through a variety of barriers, prohibit some men from achieving the expectations so highly valued for White men. Further confusion may exist because of differing expectations of the specific cultures of non-Whites.

Men validate their maleness in American society through achievement-oriented behavior such as winning in sports, winning in physical fighting, winning intellectually, winning financially, and winning in achieving power. Involvement in friendships and intimate relationships or investing in the welfare and concern for others are not behaviors associated with developing a masculine identity in our current traditional culture.

Cultural expectations for men to remain strong and to live up to the traditional male role deny boys, young adults, and adult men the opportunities to express important facets of life that deal much more with intimacy, gentleness, caring, and the opportunity on occasions to be weak and in need of help. The article "Men in Transition" (Haves, 1988) reports that "for adolescents who are just assuming the masculine role, this is easier said than done. At an age when conformity is so strongly valued, adolescents currently face conflicting messages about the behaviors that are expected of them as men" (p. 3). Certainly the Rambo supermasculine macho image is being held up to adolescents at the same time they are introduced to characters such as PeeWee Herman, who is at the other end of the behavioral continuum. Imitating Rambo may be applauded, whereas imitating PeeWee Herman is likely to result in rejection. If a young man decides he wants to bake a birthday cake for a friend, he should not have to be the victim of disdain by his peers because this activity doesn't fit expectations.

Some men find it difficult to accept and to follow the traditional male role because of their basic temperament or family modeling. Even those men whose basic temperament enables them to assume the char-

acteristics most closely associated with the typical masculine role can still experience problems because they are unable at times to accept any other style of behavior and instead try to maintain, at a very high cost, the rigidly determined role expectations for masculinity. Any behaviors that may suggest a weakness become associated with a loss of masculinity, and consequently, a loss of worth and value.

Many men can experience themselves only in terms of these fixed role expectations and are unable to view themselves as they really are. As a result, they lose spontaneity, they lose aliveness, they become artificial, their laughter is forced, their communications are less genuine. They live with these major defects at a horrendous cost to their own emotional and physical well-being.

Gloria Emerson's book, *Some American Men*, describes her interviews with several hundred men during a 6-year period. She found them caught between conflicting expectations. "At a time when women want men to love, raise babies and remember our birthdays, it is also required that they be the ones who rescue people in burning buildings" (p. 14).

Stereotypical Male Role Behavior

Boys and men are trained from childhood to be goal-oriented. They are raised to be productive and to do things with purpose. Boys and men often have trouble communicating personal concerns and issues. They can communicate about sports, cars, work, and other activities. They do not communicate about feelings, goals, attitudes, and values. Frequently women request men with whom they are intimate to sit down and talk about their relationships. The most common response by the man to the woman's request is, "What is there to talk about?" Men have little training or modeling in conversation about personal and intimate matters in their lives. They are encouraged to keep feelings hidden and emotions from showing, with the exception of aggression and anger.

R. C. Brannon (1976) identified several general dimensions of stereotypical male role behavior. He summarized these four brief phrases: (1) no sissy stuff (representing a need to be different from women); (2) big wheel (representing a need to perceive oneself as superior to others); (3) sturdy oak (representing a need to be independent and self-reliant); and (4) give them hell (representing a need to perceive oneself as more powerful than others, accompanied by a willingness to use violence if necessary to accomplish this objective).

Such a model of male role behavior denies both the complexity and reality of men's unique human potential because it is based on external standards. According to Sidney Jourard (1971), however, the funda-

mental psychological needs of men are essentially the same as women's. These are: (1) to know and be known; (2) to be mutually interdependent; (3) to love and be loved; and (4) to find purpose and meaning in life. Thus, men who fulfill their socially stereotypical male role by behaving in ways that are expected are in conflict with men who attempt to behave more in accordance with their basic psychological needs. When men give priority to psychological needs, they may be classified socially as unmasculine. Stress can result when men do not get the support of the culture and society in which they live.

Men are in conflict and they need help. Men tend to judge themselves by their role in society much more than women do. Often a feeling of tension results because men feel that they are not living up to expectations. A man's self-image depends most heavily on his achievements; for many men this becomes an oppressive ideal, engendering strong feelings of failure and inadequacy.

Interventions

This book focuses on men's issues and the specific dilemmas they face in their life journey in a modern society. It is also the purpose of this compendium to identify intervention strategies for the helping professionals—such as counselors, social workers, and psychologists—so they can enable men to solve problems and cope more effectively.

In contrast to men, many more women participate in the counseling process and avail themselves of the opportunities for change. This continues despite evidence indicating that men's needs are significant. Ironically, the very culture that creates men's needs for assistance establishes barriers that prohibit men from seeking the assistance they need. That women consult therapists much more frequently than do men does not prove that men have fewer problems. It more likely demonstrates how men deny evidence of problems.

Men have a great potential for change. One of the first requirements for change is a desire to change. Without the desire to change, change is not likely to occur. When men are made aware of the possibilities for richer, more fulfilling lives, they are often interested in making changes. This awareness may come through reading books on men's issues. It can come through involvement in men's groups. There may be a precipitating crisis or life event that will generate a call for help. Men may be encouraged and supported by a close friend who will serve as a support or mentor to them. Relationships with their children may help men recall their own youth and their own experiences in the process of growing up, and make them aware of the need for changes in their own lives.

What means can we use to help men avail themselves of change processes and begin to cope in more positive and effective ways with their needs? I suggest several proactive methods. I believe we need to use our organizational structures in business, organizations, and institutions to introduce workshops, training sessions, and skill programs that provide opportunities for people to better understand themselves and their relationships with others. We can present programs on physical fitness. We can present programs that focus on emotional well-being. I believe that many men are increasingly accepting programs related to their place of employment. When it is expected that they will engage in such workshops to enhance their job satisfaction and potential, we find many more willing participants. Because men identify so closely with their careers, facilitating their development through specific programs associated with their employment is a natural way to get men involved in personal growth experiences. Once into these experiences, many men recognize their benefits and are eager to proceed with the growth and change process.

In the 1970s, the Chicago Men's Gathering group was organized to facilitate men's growth through awareness and through consciousness raising. The Chicago Men's Gathering also provided men an emotional support system and encouraged men to participate in self-exploration and growth. This is only one of many groups that have been formed in communities to support men's growth and awareness. Again, such groups can provide considerable insight to facilitate growth and change in men's lives.

Institutions such as churches, YMCAs, or other organized groups can promote and provide opportunities for men's growth and awareness by sponsoring and facilitating organized programs and men's groups. Again, forming such groups in structured programs provides men an opportunity to seek out proactive experiences without specifically having to acknowledge their need for help.

Medical clinics and family health care centers can set up programs to promote involvement with health issues, both emotional and physical. Such programs give men an opportunity to explore change and growth.

Colleges and universities can offer programs on men's health issues to students. These institutions can also provide programs to members of the community. Institutions possess excellent resources to facilitate men's issues and men's awareness and change. Employee assistance programs in any organization can provide specific programs and services to address men's concerns and men's issues.

Films and television programs addressing men's issues can be excellent sources for increasing men's awareness. Films and videos are available on topics such as parenting, divorce, suicide, sexual relationships, stress, physical health, careers, power, love, and marriage. All these topics contribute to increasing men's awareness. They can also be used to support dialogue in men's groups.

Effecting Cultural Change

The good news is that people can and will change their cultures with assistance. It is not realistic to expect that a single force, no matter how dramatic, will totally alter the existing culture. Change is more likely to occur through a gradual system where, as people change, they modify their culture, thereby increasing the possibilities for further change. The dedication and commitment of professionals working with individuals over time can affect not only the lives of those individuals, but also the support, norms, expectations, and goals that their cultures provide. The authors in this book are not only changing people but they are also altering cultures. These professionals are making significant contributions to the lives of men and the cultures in which they live.

I have introduced the concept of change. Professional counselors are definitely change agents. Change comes about in clearly defined ways. One of these is through the imitation of others. Professional counselors serve as role models, and clients imitate professionals in many ways. The degree to which clients will imitate must not be overlooked. It's a powerful force in the therapeutic process and a powerful change agent.

Change also comes about through affiliation and identification. If our clients do not find appropriate individuals or groups with whom to affiliate and identify, the anticipated and suggested changes in their life may never be realized. Their present condition is often a result of difficulties they are experiencing that are supported by individuals with whom they are associated. Family system therapy has identified the need for total environmental change, not only the individual's need to change in a system unwilling to accommodate the behaviors.

A third means of effecting change is through communication, which includes both instruction and consultation. The typical therapeutic process involves both in varying degrees. The client has an opportunity to learn from the therapist new options available and means of achieving these options. Acting on these new ideas not only in the counseling session but in the larger world results in change.

A fourth way to change involves managing environments. Therapists can identify the opportunities and means available to make changes in the community, organizations, and businesses. This is where therapists can affect significantly the larger cultural arena. For example, teaching men that it is okay to be in touch with their feelings and to express these feelings must be communicated to the larger society so that such expression is safe and supported.

Change can also come about as a result of interventions. These interventions need to facilitate harmony between the client and his en-

vironment. If the individual's needs cannot be met in the environment, interventions are appropriate. The interventions can be individual and may be outside the therapeutic process. It is important that interventions be made in positive ways to facilitate change in cultures and environments that restrict and discourage optimal human development. It is important that interventions be made to effect desperately needed changes to enhance the well-being of individuals.

The sixth method by which change is brought about is enforced obedience. This method of bringing about change may be the one most onerous to therapists and the one with which we least identify. Nevertheless, it is a means by which change can be effected. We all recognize instances in our professional lives when it is has served us well. Therapists are familiar with setting limits in the counseling relationship.

Men on their journey are affected in powerful ways by the culture in which they live. It is the interaction between men and their culture and environment that determines happiness and fulfillment. Can the culture and environment produce the healthy child, the healthy human being? Do we know when our culture and environment are supporting or thwarting the individual's development? George Vaillant (1977) wrote, "at each stage of a man's life he responds to challenges with characteristic style and adaptation. Often he changes and grows; other times he fails and retreats. There still remains much to be learned about men and change and growth. There remains much to be discovered about the optimum conditions favorable to men and their lives" (p. 34). As counselors, we can make a significant contribution by fostering men's optimal development on their journey. The chapter authors in this book have identified issues that men in our culture are facing today. The authors, all counselors themselves, share the strategies they use in facilitating men's development to greater productivity, health, and happiness.

Jean Houston (1973) wrote:

> We are undergoing perhaps the most critical revolution in history, comparable to when man moved from being a hunter and random forager to agricultural society. Man is radically questioning what it is to be man, and it might be in part because for several hundred thousand years, he has been man the worker, whose reality is completely structured in terms of getting food into his stomach and a roof over his head. . . . We are now in the first or second generation of a different type of man; man the player, man who has the leisure and the freedom to explore all those potentials he has kept on the shelf all those hundreds of thousands of years. (p. 16)

This chapter offers interventions for counselors to help clients to develop more fully the emotional, expressive, and relational aspects of their lives.

Chapter 2
FINDING OURSELVES: SELF-ESTEEM, SELF-DISCLOSURE, AND SELF-ACCEPTANCE

Ron May

This chapter will focus on some of what we have learned about self-esteem, self-disclosure, and self-acceptance in the lives of men. A brief summary of male development will emphasize how the real self is easily lost and how difficult it can be to recapture. More importantly, the chapter will discuss specific strategies for helping men to develop an appreciation of their masculine selves, become aware of and express their real feelings, and accept themselves as both vulnerable and capable.

Development of the Male Self

Theoretical Views

A variety of developmental theorists have conceptualized the development of the male self. Psychodynamic theorists tend to emphasize gender identity development during the first years of life. Chodorow (1978) suggested that male and female differences are largely influenced by differences in parent-child interaction patterns. Although all infants begin life with a primary emotional attachment to the mother, sons must separate from this relationship to achieve their masculine identification. The male infant seeks out the father for continued nurturance and protection. Merton (1986) and others found that the frequent lack of an emotionally available father creates a condition referred to as "father hunger." This subconscious yearning is believed to result in behaviors that attempt to make an emotional connection with the father. The behavior patterns may range from being passive and approval-seeking to macho and attention-seeking. From this perspective, the self-concept becomes a collection of the son's projections of behaviors that would build a connection with the father.

Rubin (1983) also addressed the emotional deprivation that results from the separation from the mother. She hypothesized that repressed anger covers an inner experience of abandonment and betrayal. Rubin suggested this anger may be the source of patriarchal contempt toward women.

To protect himself from the pain of the separation from his mother, the young boy is believed to develop a set of defenses aimed at providing a type of character armor (Gilligan, 1982; Rubin, 1983). Ego boundaries become firm and fixed. Feelings of vulnerability and dependence are denied. When threatened, the young boy learns to communicate messages such as "I need no one" or "I can do anything." The rigid use of these defenses thwarts attempts either to discover the real self or to make emotional connections with others.

Based on her research on moral development, Gilligan (1982) also offered a more positive view of gender differences. As a result of these early dynamics, male development emphasizes separateness and independence whereas female development emphasizes attachment and connection. Gilligan stressed that each of these "voices" are equally valid and useful, though one voice may be more appropriate for a particular situation. Furthermore, each gender is viewed as capable of developing the other perspective. Gilligan's description of male development includes identification through roles and positions, self-esteem resulting from individual achievements, conceptualizing with a distinct and rational cognitive style, and ethics based on principles of justice.

Social learning theorists (Bandura, 1977) emphasized the application of learning principles to the development of gender identity. Boys learn to seek rewards for exhibiting male sex role behavior and to avoid punishment for demonstrating female sex role behavior. The anxiety associated with punishment leads to a rigid adherence to traditional roles. Lynn (1966) emphasized the role of mothers and teachers as socializing agents. He viewed their socialization as including a devaluing of femininity as a reflection of our social values. Hartley (1959), on the other hand, stressed the impact of peers and older boys in the learning of sex role behavior.

Implications for Change

Understanding male development enables one better to appreciate men's resistance to self-exploration and to design more effective interventions for promoting change. Several lessons can be gained from the developmental literature. First, important turning points in a man's emotional development occur early in life—before trust, memory, and lan-

guage are fully developed. The issues tend to be unconscious and preverbal. Consequently, trust building is critical in helping men to explore their lives. Activities designed to build trust should precede exercises involving more significant emotional risks. Nonverbal exercises are helpful for addressing important issues for which conscious recollections are not available.

Second, most men have relied on a strong set of defenses to protect themselves emotionally throughout their lives. Many of these defenses have been widely criticized in recent years as men's roles have been reexamined. However, it is important to validate the fact that these defenses may have served a man well in protecting him from greater hurt and pain. At the same time, it is useful to acknowledge the limits defenses set for experiencing vulnerability and emotional connectedness in a man's adult life. Again, it is important to go slowly, to acknowledge the process of defending oneself, and to let participants freely choose to let go of their defenses.

Third, much of a man's sense of self has been learned. What has been learned can also be unlearned. Men benefit from understanding the process of their own socialization. Workshops and support groups can provide new norms and role models for promoting a healthy discovery and expression of the male self.

Fourth, the masks men develop often result from a fear of femininity. O'Neil (1982) stated that this fear is a primary driving force behind his concept of "gender role strain." Men must receive permission for developing their more feminine parts as well as their masculine parts. Such change, however, occurs only when men confront their societal attitudes that devalue women. Consequently, interventions designed for personal development also need to include an element of social consciousness.

Fifth, men need to understand and appreciate that which is uniquely masculine. Gilligan's work has led to considerable insight in understanding gender differences in perception, values, and reasoning. The male "voice" she described is a valuable resource for responding to many life situations. Yet, many men tend initially to deny their masculinity in their search to become the "the new male." Masculine expressions of instrumental caring, role identification, and individual achievement can serve as a foundation for expanding a man's expression of his humanness.

Finally, a man's relationship with his father often proves to be the missing link in developing his self-concept. Even when a father was not emotionally available, the resulting feelings of anger, grief, and emptiness must be acknowledged. Only in working through these feelings is a man able to develop an attitude of forgiveness that allows him to incorporate the positive experiences of his father-son relationship.

Strategies for Change

Carl Rogers (1961) described self-concept as the collective perceptions of one's self that an individual has deemed worthy of positive regard from others. Unconditional positive regard tends to produce self-concepts that are congruent with one's organismic strivings. However, conditional regard leads one to deny and distort one's own experience to fulfill conditions of worth.

The literature on male sex role socialization in our culture clearly identifies conditions of worth for men (Farrell, 1974; Goldberg, 1977; Hartley, 1974). Our review of theories of male development describes the resulting formation of emotional defenses and a sense of alienation from the real self. Efforts to enhance men's self-esteem, promote men's self-disclosure, and increase men's self-acceptance must create an awareness of these conditions of worth and encourage a rediscovery of self with unconditional positive regard.

The remainder of this chapter will discuss specific program interventions for promoting these changes. These interventions will be presented through topics that are considered critical and, in some respects, sequential for developing a healthy sense of masculinity.

Developing an Awareness of One's Masculinity

Many men display little awareness of gender role strain and do not seek out opportunities to explore their masculinity. Yet, these men may still benefit from a consciousness-raising experience. The purpose of this experience might be to develop an initial awareness of sexism by presenting information typically avoided or denied. Such programs might be presented in business forums, workshops, health classes, social science courses, student organizations, or living units in residence halls or Greek houses.

Several excellent films are available for these types of presentations. "Men's Lives" (Haug & Roberts, 1974) was one of the first such films produced. This Academy Award-winning documentary examines the male mystique as two men revisit their high school to interview former teachers and childhood heroes. "An Acquired Taste" (Arlyck, 1982) portrays the filmmaker's review of the school, work, and media influences that have shaped his life as a man as he reaches his 10th birthday. "Stale Roles and Tight Buns" (O.A.S.I.S., 1988) explores male stereotypes by reviewing images of men in media advertising.

Because these films are visually appealing and entertaining, they tend to be well received by a wide variety of audiences. Follow-up discussions with trained facilitators maximize the benefits of viewing these films. Discussion topics may include emotional reactions to the films, identification of stereotypes, and personal experiences associated with topics presented in the films.

Other men may respond more readily to factual material. Numerous statistics can be shared that are likely to lead less aware men to question their well-being as men. For instance, compared to women, men tend to have at least 8 years less life expectancy (Harris, 1976), are twice as prone to severe cardiovascular disease (Harrison, 1978), are four times more likely to be alcoholic (Chafetz & Demone, 1972), and are more likely to commit suicide (Weiss, 1974). Being exposed to these health-related risks causes some men to question the strains of the male role. Applying these risks to their own life-style is apt to develop a greater awareness of gender role strain.

Still another approach to reexamining self-concept lies in the use of psychological inventories. The Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974) consists of 60 items that equally represent traits rated as desirable for a man, woman, or neutral. Using a median split method derived by Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp (1975), Bem revised her original scoring procedure and now considers those scoring above both the masculine and feminine means to be androgynous, and those below both means to be undifferentiated.

Using the same scoring format, the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence & Helmreich, 1978) uses items chosen for social desirability and prevalence in either gender to determine levels of androgyny. A short form of 24 items is available with a 0.90 reliability correlation between forms.

A 56-item instrument based on Murray's need theory is the PRF ANDRO (Berzins, Welling, & Wetter, 1978). Masculine items reflect ascendancy, autonomy, and risk taking, whereas feminine items reflect nurturance, affiliation, expression, and self-subordination.

These inventories all measure androgyny, but another instrument assesses attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in society. The Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1972) uses a 15-item rating scale to measure these attitudes on a liberal-to-conservative continuum.

These inventories can be used in a variety of formats to promote personal development. One such method involves having participants anticipate their scores prior to completing the instrument. These ratings can then be compared to the actual test results. Discrepancies between "perceived" and "real" scores can provide useful material for examining

a man's self-concept in relation to his masculinity, level of androgyny, and attitudes toward women.

A more informal assessment method for gaining self-awareness involves time management studies. Participants are asked to monitor and record how much time they spend each day in various activities. Categories can be developed to address specific issues in men's lives. A review of the result of these personal surveys may produce insights into time spent at work versus at home, with others versus alone, or in intimate relationships versus pastimes and activities. Choices made about spending time can be interpreted as values and life-style decisions. A greater awareness of these decisions allows men to review and possibly change them.

Developing an Awareness of Feelings

Being aware of one's emotions is one of the crucial components of self-exploration. However, an awareness of feelings in the here-and-now is a most difficult task for many men. The psychological defenses around vulnerabilities and dependence developed early in life form a sort of crust around a man's feelings. Years of socialization serve to harden the crust. Attempts to soften this crust and to penetrate these defenses must be taken with great care.

Most men respond to questions about their feelings with a rational statement about their cognitions. Thus, a starting point is to help men to differentiate between the processes of thinking and feeling. Once this differentiation is made, men can strive more intentionally to access their feelings. In fact, the most common need I have heard expressed in workshops is to help participants to "develop access" to themselves. Once men have had an emotionally intimate experience, their sense of isolation from themselves and others becomes less tolerable. These men then need to learn to access their feelings.

Programs designed to facilitate emotional awareness need to set a tone that conveys comfort and safety. I find it helpful to have soft music playing as participants enter the room and are introduced to one another. Much of the "new age" music is ideal for this purpose. It helps if the room has soft lighting, carpeting, comfortable seating, soundproofing, and a sense of privacy.

The manner in which the facilitators and the program are introduced also can be used to promote a trusting environment. Facilitators can model self-disclosure and awareness of feelings as they present themselves. An overview of the content and process of the program reduces anxieties about what lies ahead. A sense of personal safety is also en-

hanced by giving attendees permission not to participate in activities that feel too uncomfortable.

A variety of structured activities can be used to develop greater awareness of feelings. Visual imagery exercises encourage personal awareness by eliminating the risks involved in interpersonal contact. Participants can be instructed to get in touch periodically with feelings throughout the exercise. I have found the meditations and imaging of Virginia Satir (1985) to be particularly effective. Her scripts convey a strong sense of self-affirmation, personal freedom, and universality. Stevens (1971) also provides a useful handbook of awareness and focusing exercises.

The creative arts offer many possibilities for enhancing self-awareness. Many popular songs arouse powerful emotions associated with issues in men's lives. Simon and Garfunkel's (1965) "The Sounds of Silence" and "I Am a Rock" address personal isolation and loneliness. Mary Travers's (1971) "I Wish I Knew How It Would Feel To Be Free" beckons the listener to express feelings and dreams. Bette Midler's (1978) "The Rose" delicately resonates with the potential for human growth. In addition, "men's music" artists such as Geof Morgan (1980, 1982, 1985) and Gary Lapow (1982) address in their lyrics men's issues like success and achievement, sexuality, power and control, homophobia, and violence. After listening to these songs, it is important to provide some opportunity in dyads or small groups to share feelings and experiences the music elicits.

Drawings and paintings provide another creative avenue for gaining access into one's emotional world. Instructions for such exercises might be to draw "yourself," "you in your family," "you with other men," "you at a pleasant moment," or "you at a painful time." Such exercises promote both awareness of and the sharing of these inner experiences with others. Because these exercises can elicit unexpectedly strong emotions, it is important to provide follow-up support after the program.

Another visual mode involves sharing old photographs. In a men's group I facilitated, each member used a session to discuss his relationship with his father. Members introduced their fathers by sharing old photographs of their times together. This sharing brought on a range of feelings, from broad smiles to painful tears.

Other methods of emotional arousal may be more interactive. Role-playing can be used to strengthen connections to important affective experiences in difficult interpersonal interactions. Virginia Satir developed a variety of sculpting techniques for enhancing the potency of these role plays (Satir & Baldwin, 1983). Role plays also can be videotaped and reviewed to gain a more objective perspective of oneself in interpersonal situations. Kagan's (Kagan & Krathwohl, 1967) Interper-

sonal Process Recall provides a nondirective method for reviewing videotaped interactions. Frequently, participants become aware of feelings during recall sessions that were beyond their awareness during the initial interaction.

Learning to Self-Disclose

Once a man becomes more aware of feelings, the task becomes one of sharing these feelings with others. Such self-disclosure is difficult for most men. Expressing emotions contradicts the messages of our socialization to be invulnerable and in control. Jourard (1974) believed the tendency for men not to self-disclose leads them to be "less insightful and empathic, less competent at loving, and more subject to disparitation than women" (p. 28). He also felt that stress associated with withholding emotion contributed to health problems and reduced longevity.

However, men can learn to self-disclose (See chapter 14). The safe, comfortable environmental conditions described earlier also are important for programs designed to promote self-disclosure. Similarly, a trusting interpersonal atmosphere also needs to be developed. Some men find it easier to self-disclose immediately following an emotionally arousing exercise as described in the previous section. Dyads and small groups provide a relatively safe context for these disclosures. One such exercise asks participants to have a "heart-to-heart talk" with another group member immediately following the playing of Gary Lapow's "Tell It From the Heart" (1982). The self-disclosure is facilitated both by the music and the granting of permission to break social norms.

Structured exercises also can be useful for enhancing self-disclosure. The completion of sentence stems such as "I am . . ." or "I feel . . ." offers one such approach. A particularly effective adaptation asks participants to write down 10 responses to "I am . . .", pin their paper to their chests, and then mill around the room nonverbally. When conducted at the beginning of a workshop, this exercise serves to introduce the participants to each other, to begin the process of self-disclosure, and to make valuable observations of how men tend to identify themselves.

Nonverbal and physical touching exercises, although they involve more risk, can be effective. Back rubs and massages can be used to express compassion and affection without words. When participants are engaged in conflict or painful issues, having two participants hold hands while looking directly into each other's eyes enhances immediacy and direct communication.

Confronting Homophobia

As men begin to interact more intimately, homophobic fear will inevitably arise. For groups of men who have not confronted this issue, it is most important to address the topic and encourage participants to discuss their feelings. Homophobia typically represents projected fears rather than actual threats. Consequently, it is important for participants to own their fears and to work through them. If gay participants have disclosed their sexual orientation, opportunities arise for learning to accept affection and intimacy from gay men without the contact becoming sexualized.

In general, internalized homophobia is a primary obstacle for many men in exploring their emotional lives. These men may feel guilty or ashamed for homosexual thoughts or acts they have experienced, however fleeting or benign. Avoiding this guilt or shame, however, may mean avoiding any self-exploration at all.

Consequently, homophobia becomes an important topic to address in any men's programming. I have found the best intervention to be direct interpersonal contact with a gay man. For instance, participants might interview a gay man to learn his sexual history. Hearing a gay man talk lovingly about his partner helps straight men to identify with these men. The opportunity to ask questions directly serves to dispel misconceptions and prejudices. Most importantly, the direct contact usually instills a feeling of comfort and trust that overcomes the homophobic reactions.

Exploring Gender Roles

For young, straight men, self-esteem is most clearly at stake in relationships with women. However, traditional dating rituals serve only to reinforce sex-role stereotypes and covert, manipulative, and often coercive interactions. Recent concerns with acquaintance rape have led to a wide variety of program interventions in this area. Typically, these programs attempt to accomplish several goals: (1) to promote more open, honest, and direct communication, (2) to support each individual's autonomy for making choices to become sexually involved and the assertive communication of these choices, and (3) to develop a better understanding of the other person's needs, values, and perceptions. Sample interventions will be discussed for each of these goals.

One intervention for improving communication begins by taking a look at typical dating rituals. Small same-sex groups are instructed to brainstorm behaviors used by the opposite sex to communicate sexual attraction. After reconvening, the group shares the lists and identifies

themes for describing these behaviors. Invariably, the brainstorming and the sharing of lists involves a lot of joking. However, groups often become more sober as the themes are identified. The most common themes describe dating behaviors as manipulative, dishonest, covert, and coercive. The implications for developing healthy relationships are obvious. This exercise often leads to participants' sharing their personal anxieties in dating interactions and the negative effects on their self-esteem.

A similar intervention involves brainstorming sex role stereotypes for men and women. Small mixed-sex groups are used in this exercise to develop lists for each gender. Again, the lists are shared and combined in the large group. The identification of themes usually reflects expectations for women to be submissive and compliant and for men to be initiating and dominant. Discussions can emphasize how these stereotypes infringe upon individual autonomy and choice. Discussions of alternate, more healthy dating interactions might emphasize a woman's right to refuse sexual involvements as well as a man's not needing to feel responsible for initiating sex as a way of proving his manhood.

The research of Gilligan (1982) and others has demonstrated striking gender differences in values, perceptions, and ethics. Yet, many young men and women display little awareness or understanding of these differences. This lack of understanding often has painful consequences for both individuals and relationships. An intervention entitled "Everything You've Ever Wanted to Know About the Opposite Sex, but Were Afraid to Ask" serves to bridge the gap. A double fishbowl is formed with a small inner group consisting of an equal number of men and women. The participants of the inner group take turns asking questions of the opposite sex. For instance, one fraternity member asked why all of the members of the sorority knew about his date with one of the members the previous evening. The sorority members quite simply explained the close connective, relational climate of their house. Yet, they were able to understand how the young man experienced this event as an intrusion on his sense of privacy and separateness.

Finding Our Fathers

A man's search for his self inevitably leads him to his father. Although research often cites the emotional unavailability of fathers, a son's need for his father's attention, nurturance, and approval does not cease merely because these needs have not been met. Various authors (Herzog, 1982; Merton, 1986; Osherson, 1986) refer to this condition as "father hunger." The resolution of one's father hunger is an important step in becoming one's own man.

One workshop designed around this topic is entitled "Finding Our Fathers" (May & Eichenfield, 1989). The workshop begins with a brief

introduction followed by the "I am . . ." milling exercise described earlier. Two mini-lectures are then presented providing overviews of men's issues and father-son relationships. Then, a visual imagery exercise is conducted adapting a Satir (1985, p. 31–33) meditation. The participants are invited to revisit their earliest happiest and most painful memories of their fathers. As the memories are shared in the group, common themes of father-son relationships are identified and discussed. The imagery exercise often elicits significant grief issues associated with losses experienced with fathers. The remainder of the workshop helps participants to experience these losses, learn to forgive, and to incorporate the positive aspects of their relationship with their father.

Developing Male Friendships and Community

No individual workshop or program is sufficient for promoting a man's discovery of his real self. Traditional roles are well established through years of experience in a culture with a particular set of values and norms. Changes in male consciousness are more likely to occur with the support of a culture whose values and norms promote growth. Such cultures are becoming more available through men's groups, men's networks, and other communities supporting a new definition of masculinity. Whereas our societal norms typically have created competition and emotional distance between men, these cultures promote inter-dependence and cooperation. A brief list of these networks by the author is summarized elsewhere (May, 1988).

As a man's sense of self becomes more whole and integrated, these changes begin to transform men's relationships and social existence. Relationships that cannot integrate these changes begin to lose meaning. With a growing sense of compassion and nurturance, men become sensitized to the pain and suffering in their world. This sensitivity ideally is actualized in social and political commitments that support human values.

Conclusion

A man's search for an authentic sense of self can be a long and arduous journey. The traditional male role promotes a sense of alienation reinforced by a firm set of psychological defenses. However, new views of masculinity provide options for men to recapture the emotional, expressive, and relational aspects of their lives. In doing so, living their life in accordance with their basic human experience reestablishes a sense of self-esteem. The courage to disclose their experience to others provides a healthy avenue for self-expression. And finally, self-acceptance despite societal pressures develops a sense of personal integrity.

When men are conflicted by their gender roles, what specific domains need assessment and exploration?

Chapter 3
ASSESSING MEN'S GENDER ROLE CONFLICT

James M. O'Neil

Men face difficult times in the 1990s, particularly those men who have not liberated themselves from restrictive gender roles. Men's gender roles have been implicated in family violence, rape, and child sexual abuse (Finkelhor, 1984; Finn, 1986; Russell, 1984). These serious problems have received much attention in the media, and the public has become sensitized to men as abusers. Consequently, men feel blamed and on the defensive about sexism and their gender roles. Blaming men for sexism and labeling them as oppressors has not resolved the anger between the sexes, advanced equality, or decreased victimization. "Male blaming and bashing" reached its all-time high in the 1980s and did not prove to be an effective strategy for constructive change.

Men now need to analyze feminists' positions on changing gender roles. In the 1970s and 1980s women feminists argued that men should change their conceptions of gender roles. They rightly asserted that men's gender role values were patriarchal, oppressive, and discriminatory toward women. Men reacted to these assertions in a variety of ways. Some men denied the existence of sexism, others became angry, and some began the liberation process. Charges that men were oppressors also brought men together collectively. A national men's movement began that was committed to men's liberation and new conceptualizations of masculinity. Men's studies has also emerged as a new discipline committed to nonsexist study of men and masculinity (see Femiano, chapter 17 of this text, and Kimmel, 1987). Men's studies aims to understand men's socialization and conflicts with gender roles.

Men's studies, from a psychological perspective, investigates men's gender role conflict over the life span. Many men have difficulty labeling emotions resulting from changed gender roles and experience gender role conflicts internally, along with confusion and limited support. Many men are unaware of their gender role conflicts or become bewildered by their failure to adapt to women's "new voices" (Gilligan, 1984). Definitive analyses of men's gender role conflict are needed if the restrictive

and oppressive aspects of masculine behavior are to be understood and changed. How sexism violates men has become an important issue because many more men want a new, positive sense of their masculinity.

Counseling, psychotherapy, and preventive programs can help men with their socialized sexism and assist them in redefining their conceptions of gender roles. Professionals working with men need innovative methods to assess men's gender role conflict. When men are conflicted by their gender roles, what specific domains need assessment and exploration? What do therapists and programmers need to know about men to make comprehensive assessments and develop therapeutic interventions? What are men's personal experiences of gender role conflict and how do these experiences affect men negatively? In this chapter, information is presented to help answer these questions, thereby promoting more effective interventions with men.

Few paradigms exist that explain how men behave and feel when they experience gender role conflict. More precise conceptualizations are needed to explain men's gender role dynamics. This chapter provides concepts to assess men's gender role conflict as well as a diagnostic schema to use in counseling, psychotherapy, and educational programming. Specifically, a diagnostic schema is presented that defines four critical assessment domains. These domains are defined in the next sections. Implications for using the diagnostic schema are given at the end of the chapter.

Prerequisite Knowledge to Assess Men's Gender Role Conflict

The most valuable asset to implement gender role assessments is a strong theoretical and research background in the psychology of gender roles. The psychology of gender roles is emerging as a respected area of scientific and human inquiry, and practitioners should begin to incorporate the psychology of gender (Basow, 1986; Doyle, 1983, 1985) into their assessment of male clients. Four important assessment concepts relevant to men's struggle and change are: gender roles, gender role conflict, gender role transitions, and gender role themes.

Gender roles are behaviors, expectations, and values defined by society as masculine or feminine. Gender roles are embodied in the behavior of men and women and culturally regarded as appropriate to men or women (O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1982). These roles are learned through gender role socialization and may change with the demands of adulthood and aging (Moreland, 1979, 1980). Gender roles are core dimensions of a person and, therefore, central to understanding human

behavior. Gender role development occurs through gender role socialization. This process includes how people acquire, internalize, and redefine values, attitudes, and behaviors associated with gender roles (i.e., masculinity and femininity).

Gender role conflict is a psychological state in which gender roles have negative consequences on the individual or on others. The ultimate outcome of this conflict is the restriction of the person's human potential or the restriction of someone else's potential. Gender role conflict occurs when rigid, sexist, or restrictive gender roles, learned during socialization, result in the personal restriction, devaluation, or violation of others or self (O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1982). One outcome of gender role conflict is gender role strain. This occurs when psychological or physical tension is experienced as a result of the expectations and norms of masculinity, femininity, and androgyny. Garnets and Pleck (1979) operationally define sex role strain "as a discrepancy between the real self and that part of the ideal self-concept that is culturally associated with gender" (p. 278). They believe that sex role strain is an intrapsychic process that can lead to poor psychological adjustment, particularly low self-esteem. Pleck's (1981) sex role strain (SRS) paradigm is based on two theories of sex role strain including self-role discrepancy theory and socialized dysfunctional characteristics theory. The discrepancy theory implies that individuals suffer negative consequences when they fail to live up to gender roles. The latter theory suggests that socialized gender roles produce dysfunctional personality characteristics in people.

Numerous ways of conceptualizing gender role conflict support the development of a diagnostic schema. Gender role conflict can be experienced in part as a cognitive process—how we think about gender roles and our values related to masculinity and femininity. It can be experienced in part as an affective process—how we feel about our gender roles and the conflicts we have with ourselves and others. Gender role conflict can be experienced in part as a behavioral process—how we act, respond, and interact with ourselves and others. Finally, gender role conflict can be experienced both as a conscious and unconscious process. This implies that some gender role conflicts are in our awareness and others are repressed beyond our conscious awareness. How we think, feel, and behave because of our gender roles can affect our overall human development.

Awareness of gender role conflict may stimulate reevaluation of gender roles in a person's life and lead to gender role transitions. The literature provides some conceptualizations of gender role transitions, and models of gender role change are slowly emerging (Block, 1973, 1984; Gale, 1980; Moreland, 1980; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978; Rebecca, Hefner, & Oleshansky, 1976). These transitions are events and movements in a person's gender role development

process stimulating changes in gender role values and self-assumptions. Transitions occur when demonstrations, reevaluations, and integrations of masculinity and femininity take place over the life span (O'Neil & Fishman, 1986; O'Neil, Fishman, & Kinsella-Shaw, 1987). The demonstration, reevaluation, and integration of masculine and feminine values may occur during crises or during the normal maturation process. Struggles to integrate new gender role definitions may occur as roles change. Good examples of gender role transitions are when men: leave home permanently; become fathers or spouses; lose their jobs or personal confidence; become interpersonally dysfunctional, divorced, or sexually impotent; lose a parent, child, or lifetime dream. In all of these situations men reevaluate their gender role values and struggle with themes directly related to their masculine self-concepts. Gender role transitions may produce confusion, anxiety, and threat. But, these transitions also can open up internal parts of the man, expand his self-definition, and promote personal exploration and growth.

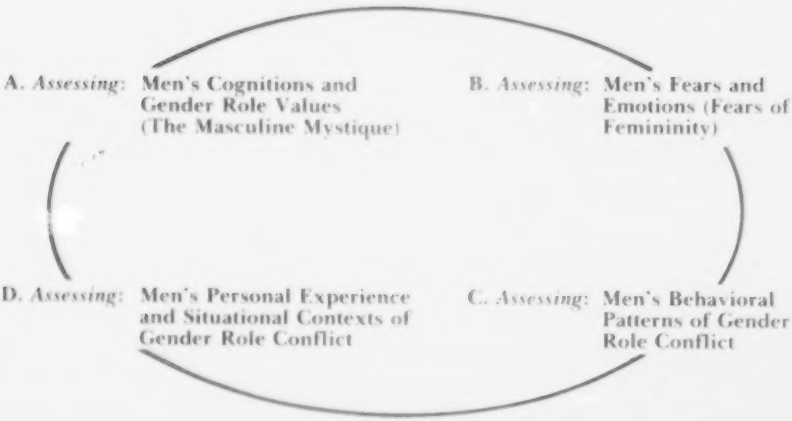
Gender role transitions are not completed in a vacuum but in the context of certain gender role themes (O'Neil & Fishman, 1986). A gender role theme is defined as a developmental and human issue involving the demonstration, reevaluation, or integration of masculinity and femininity. Each man struggles with different themes depending on his early socialization, gender role values, and coping styles. Some of men's gender role themes include: success, achievement, and competence; control, power, and competition; strength, personal worth, and status; provider role, parenthood, and mentor; health, aging, and loss of power; and intimacy, sexuality, and emotionality. Many of these themes can be determined by assessing men's cognitions, values, fears, emotions, and behavioral patterns, as discussed in the next section.

Diagnostic Schema to Assess Men's Gender Role Conflict

Few explicit schemas exist to facilitate systematic assessment of men's gender role conflict in counseling, psychotherapy, and preventive programming. Table 1 depicts a four-part diagnostic schema (A-D) that gives structure to assessing men's gender role conflict. Four assessment domains are shown in Table 1 and presume prerequisite knowledge of men's gender role conflict as described above. In assessment domain A, men's cognitions and gender role values are assessed as the "masculine mystique." Assessment domain B implies assessing men's fears and emotions about gender roles, such as the fear of femininity. In domain C, men's behavioral patterns of gender role conflict are evaluated. Finally, in domain D, men's personal experiences of gender role conflict are appraised in certain situational contexts.

TABLE 1

Diagnostic Schema to Assess Men's Gender Role Conflict


A. *Assessing*: Men's Cognitions and Gender Role Values (The Masculine Mystique)
B. *Assessing*: Men's Fears and Emotions (Fears of Femininity)
D. *Assessing*: Men's Personal Experience and Situational Contexts of Gender Role Conflict
C. *Assessing*: Men's Behavioral Patterns of Gender Role Conflict

The relationship between the four domains is interactive and complex. In this analysis, no focused attempt is made to explain how cognitions, emotions, or specific behavioral patterns actually produce the experience of gender role conflict. However, the assessment domains in Table 1 do imply that men's cognitions, values, fears, and emotions about gender roles can result in behavioral patterns and personal experiences of gender role conflict in certain situational contexts. Each of the assessment domains in Table 1 are discussed below, and specific applications are summarized after each section.

A. Assessing Men's Cognitions and Gender Role Values: The Masculine Mystique

Men's cognitions of gender roles are thought patterns about masculinity and femininity in the contexts of personal, professional, and family roles. Men's values result from these internalized cognitions and give meaning and order to their life. Masculine thoughts and values are learned during early socialization and over the life span. Researchers have yet to determine how these cognitions and values are affected by biological-hormonal antecedents and the effects of sociopolitical environments. Clearly, individual differences in men's cognitions and values are based on many factors such as age, race, family background, and

socioeconomic levels, to name a few. Yet, numerous authors have hypothesized a commonality in men's thoughts and values as the masculine mystique (Dubbert, 1979; Farrell, 1974; Mayer, 1978; O'Neil, 1981b, 1982).

The masculine mystique represents what men think about men's and women's gender roles and specific values about masculinity and femininity. These values define optimal masculinity in our society and are based on rigid sex role stereotypes and beliefs about men, women, masculinity, and femininity. The masculine mystique is a sexist set of thoughts and attitudes about women, men, and life in general. Dubbert (1979) presented an excellent historical analysis of the emergence of the masculine mystique in America from the early 1800s to the present.

Overall, the masculine mystique implies that men are superior to women and masculinity is superior to femininity; power, control, and dominance are essential to prove masculinity; emotions, feelings, vulnerability, and intimacy are to be avoided because they are feminine; and career successes and sexual potency are measures of masculinity (O'Neil, 1981b, 1982). Implicit in these values is the implied inferiority of femininity compared to masculinity. These masculine values can have negative consequences for men, women, and children. These values violate women because they devalue women's feminine attitudes, values, and behaviors. They violate men by denying them the opportunity to express their feminine side, therefore denying them important parts of themselves. Failure to accept these values or live them out can produce self-devaluation or ridicule from others. In varying degrees, the masculine mystique devalues femininity (i.e., sexism), overvalues masculinity (i.e., hypermasculinity), and produces fears about emotions and femininity.

Applications

Therapists and educational programmers can assess men's cognitions and values related to the masculine mystique. Therapists can probe clients' gender role values and thought patterns as part of the overall assessment process. Specific attention to how clients learned these values and from whom can help link early socialization experiences to present conflicts. Programmers can present the masculine mystique as the typical gender role ideology and stimulate discussion and dialogue in both large and small groups. Discussion of how specific cognitions and values reinforce hypermasculine, macho, and unhealthy behavior can be the first step in assessing men's gender role conflict.

B. Assessing Men's Gender Role Fears and Emotions: The Fear of Femininity

Men's fears and emotions have been taboo topics for men because they are antithetical to the masculine mystique. Fears and emotions destabilize men's facades of strength and power. Yet, men do experience many feelings and fears during early development and over the life span. Fears and emotions related to control, power, failure, and weakness are dynamic issues in many men's lives. What men feel, what they fail to feel, and how they manage fear are critical in understanding men's gender role conflict. One concept that epitomizes men's fears and emotions is the fear of femininity.

The fear of femininity is a strong negative emotion associated with feminine values, attitudes, and behaviors (O'Neil, 1981a, 1982). These emotional reactions are learned primarily when gender identity is being formed by parents, peers, and societal values. David and Brannon (1976) indicated that parents are concerned about how well boys conform to the masculine role. Fathers are particularly concerned if their sons manifest feminine qualities. Many boys learn to avoid stereotypical feminine qualities because of expressed displeasure or ridicule from parents and peers. Consequently, male socialization can produce: (1) a life-long aversion to qualities stereotyped as feminine; (2) constant strivings to be masculine; (3) an inexpressive male image that prohibits expressions of emotion; and (4) emotional and physical distance between men because of feared homosexuality.

Men's fears of their feminine sides and of women have been noted in the literature for many years (Boehm, 1930; Hays, 1964; Horney, 1967; Jung, 1953, 1954; Lederer, 1968; Mentzinger, 1970). These analyses of men's fears rely primarily on a psychodynamic perspective. Jung's archetype in men, the anima, is a well-known concept relevant to men's difficulty in integrating their feminine side. Reviews of mythology (Lederer, Johnson, 1977) provide substantial evidence that the threat of femininity has been part of men's experience over the centuries.

When a man fears his feminine side, he really fears that others see him as stereotypically and negatively feminine (weak, dependent, submissive) rather than positively masculine. Being considered a wimp is emasculating and fear-provoking. This is not an unreasonable fear because femininity is subordinated, deprecated, and maligned in our hypermasculine society. Men who express their feminine side fear they will be restricted, devalued, and violated by others. The cost of showing stereotypical feminine qualities can be disrespect, failure, and emasculation. These are high costs for a man wanting to fulfill the masculine mystique over the life cycle.

Applications

Men's fears and emotions can also be assessed, providing a deeper context for issues and conflicts. Helping clients face fears about femininity and women who represent feminine values can be useful. For example, probing early childhood memories of mother and father as representations of femininity and masculinity can elicit valuable information. Helping men face their emotions about their mothers or other feminine forces in their lives can be crucial for change and growth.

During workshops and groups, leaders can try specific approaches related to feelings. Self-disclosure (Beck, 1983), and emotional expression by the leader can help create an environment where feelings can be shared. Structured exercises can be used to stimulate deeper fears and unexpressed pain (see chapter 2). For example, the simple act of asking men to draw on newsprint a situation where deep feelings were experienced but not felt can be powerful. Collective discussion of these situations can elicit deeper experiences of men's gender role conflict and specific patterns of behavior.

C. Assessing Men's Behavioral Patterns of Gender Role Conflict

The first two assessment domains (A & B) provide a basis for assessing men's behavioral patterns of gender role conflict. In other words, assessment of men's cognitions, values, fears, and emotions can facilitate a behavioral analysis of men's gender role conflict. In an earlier set of papers (O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1982; O'Neil & Fishman, 1986) the masculine mystique and fear of femininity were hypothesized to be related to six patterns of gender role conflict and sexism as shown in Table 2. The six patterns represent the behavioral manifestation of men's cognitions, values, fears, and emotions as discussed in the earlier sections. The six patterns are: (1) *Restrictive Emotionality*—Having difficulty expressing one's own feelings or denying others their rights to emotional expressiveness; (2) *Homophobia*—Having fears of homosexuals or fear of being a homosexual, including beliefs, myths, and stereotypes about gay people; (3) *Control*—A need to regulate, restrain, or to have others or situations under one's command; *Power*—A need to obtain authority, influence, or ascendance over others; *Competition*—Striving against others to win or gain something; (4) *Restricted Sexual and Affectionate Behavior*—Having limited ways of expressing one's sexuality and affection to others; (5) *Obsession With Achievement and Success*—Having a disturbing and persistent preoccupation with work, accomplishment, and eminence as a means of substantiating and demonstrating value; (6) *Health Care Problems*—Having difficulties maintaining positive health care in terms

TABLE 2

Patterns of Gender Role Conflict and Strain Emanating From Men's Gender Role Socialization and The Masculine Mystique

From: Personnel and Guidance Journal, 60, 203–210, 1981.

of diet, exercise, relaxation, work, and stress. Recently, empirical research has also documented the existence of some of these patterns (Davis, 1988; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986; Snell, 1986; Thompson & Pleck, 1986) and some have been shown to affect men's help-seeking (Good, Dell, & Mintz, 1989).

Application

These patterns of gender role conflict are not an exhaustive list of men's problems. Yet, they do provide an operationally defined set of behaviors that can be useful to men seeking answers about their conflicted thoughts and feelings. Table 2 has been illustrated in the literature (Basow, 1986) and used with individual clients and in workshops (Cuneen & Burda, 1983; O'Neil & Roberts Carroll, 1988) to organize conceptually the complexity of men's socialization. Often a cognitive understanding of men's behavioral patterns can stimulate more fruitful

conceptualizations of men's personal experiences of gender role conflict in certain situational contexts, as discussed in the next section.

D. Assessing Men's Personal Experience and Situational Contexts of Gender Role Conflict

How men's thoughts, feelings, and behavioral patterns are experienced personally in situational contexts is critical to a comprehensive assessment of men. The personal experience of gender role conflict is defined as the negative consequences of gender roles for the individual man and for other people. The situational contexts of gender role conflict are defined as how and from whom the conflict emerges for an individual man.

Table 3 depicts three personal experiences of gender role conflict and three situational contexts of its occurrence. The 3 × 3 diagram shows 9 gender role conflict assessment cells. On the left side of Table 3, the personal experiences of gender role conflict are shown as devaluations (D), restrictions (R), and violations (V). These outcomes define men's private pain and conflict over gender roles. Across the top of Table 3, three situational contexts of gender role conflict are shown including conflict (1) within oneself, (2) caused by others, and (3) expressed toward others. Gender role conflict *within oneself* is defined as thoughts, feelings, and behavioral patterns that produce negative emotions and consequences for an individual man because of his own conflict. Gender role conflict *caused by others* is defined as thoughts, feelings, and behavioral patterns that produce negative emotions and consequences in a man because of someone else's conflicts. Gender role conflict *expressed toward others* is defined as a man's thoughts, feelings, and behavioral patterns that produce negative emotions and consequences and are expressed toward others. These three situational contexts demonstrate that gender role conflict can exist within a man, emanate from others, or be expressed toward others.

The nine assessment cells in Table 3 can be used to assess men's personal experience of gender role conflict in different situational contexts. For example, self-devaluations would be Cell D_1, whereas devaluation from others or devaluation of others would be Cell D_2 and D_3, respectively. Likewise, restrictions and violations within self, from others, or expressed toward others are represented by Cells R_1, R_2, R_3 and Cells V_1, V_2, V_3 respectively. Specific examples of men's personal experience of gender role conflict are described below as devaluations, restrictions, and violations using the nine cells in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Diagnostic Schema Assessing the Personal and Situational Contexts of Men's Gender Role Conflict

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF GENDER ROLE CONFLICT	*SITUATIONAL CONTEXT OF GENDER ROLE CONFLICT*		
	Conflict Within Self	*Conflict Caused By Others*	*Conflict Expressed Toward Others*
D. DEVALUATIONS	D_1	D_2	D_3
R. RESTRICTIONS	R_1	R_2	R_3
V. VIOLATIONS	V_1	V_2	V_3

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A. Gender Role Devaluations

Devaluations are experienced when there is a discrepancy or deviation from expected gender role norms. Devaluation implies a lessening of status, stature, and self-esteem and may occur after the fear and anger is turned inward, causing depression and isolation. Gender role conflict can occur from devaluing oneself (Cell D_1), being devalued by others (Cell D_2), or by devaluing someone else (Cell D_3). When men feel unable to emulate the values of the masculine mystique, they may devalue and blame themselves (Cell D_1). Self-devaluation may occur when a man has failed on the job or in an intimate relationship. The failure may be of little consequence, or a major error or loss. Devaluation may also occur when a man's success expectancies cannot be met in a work setting or when he is not a responsive father or spouse because of work overload, stress, and exhaustion. Difficulties, lost career dreams, and unemployment all can trigger gender role devaluations in men's lives. Devaluations may also occur from others, particularly from competitors, parents, and family members (Cell D_2). Devaluations by mothers and women are particularly painful and can engender defensiveness, withdrawal, and sometimes even violence. Men also devalue others when they do not meet the expected gender role norms (Cell D_3). Men devalue women who deviate from the feminine stereotype of attractiveness or who assume a traditionally defined masculine career role. Devaluation of other men occurs when the stereotypes of the masculine mystique are violated.

B. Gender Role Restrictions

Restrictions are experienced when men confine themselves or others to rigid gender role norms that cause a violation of personal freedom and human rights. Gender role restrictions occur when masculine and feminine norms or expectancies limit flexibility in work, family, and interpersonal patterns. Restrictions limit options, deny needs, and often represent manipulative control and an abusive use of power. The cost of frequently restricting oneself or others are feelings of guilt and powerlessness. Cells R_1, R_2, and R_3 represent how gender role restrictions can occur within oneself, from others, or toward others.

Men's restriction of themselves (Cell R_1) occurs in a number of different ways. Men's restriction of emotions, self-disclosures, and overall communication is a typical complaint of women about men. Men can also restrict themselves by devoting too much time to work, thereby restricting their roles and effectiveness as responsive spouses or nurturing fathers. For example, workaholics tend to avoid intimacy and have difficulties processing the complexity of interpersonal exchanges. Restrictions also can be experienced as role conflict or overload. Many

men are stretched between demanding jobs and family responsibilities. Some men feel restricted by their work schedule and are unable to find time for leisure and relaxation. Men also feel restricted by inflexible masculine norms set by others at work (Cell R_2). Many work settings are competitive, and there is pressure to succeed and compete. This pressure can produce conflict and combat between coworkers, resulting in dysfunctional relationships. A restrictive range of emotional expressiveness (O'Neil, 1981a, Skovholt, 1978) can limit men's understanding of complex work dynamics or discourage personal relationships with others.

Gender role restrictions expressed toward others (Cell R_3) can be difficult for men in their relationships. Men have restricted women in their personal and career growth for centuries. Restriction and control of women are the most blatant forms of sexism and the essence of men's oppression of women. Some men who are interpersonally restricted try to control individuals or environments, causing tension and resentment. Emotionally restricted men do not express their feelings and pain and may express emotions inappropriately. Outbursts of anger, family conflict, and violence can result.

C. Gender Role Violations

Violations are experienced when men harm themselves, are harmed by others, or harm others trying to meet the gender role stereotypes, norms, and ideals of masculinity. To be violated is to be abused and victimized because of gender role conflict. Men violate themselves (Cell V_1) by overwork, excessive stress, and abuse of substances to dull emotions and painful life experiences. Unexpressed emotions, fear, and anger can be internalized, causing chronic depression, self-hate, isolation, and serious health problems. Men are also violated by others (Cell V_2) both at work and in relationships. Preretirement men often feel violated by their employers when they are asked to retire early to make way for the younger and more energetic (masculine) men. Many men feel violated by the organizational politics of work settings. Power plays, manipulations, and back stabbing can culminate in violation of individual workers. Extreme manipulation may lead to demotions, aggressive behavior, and unemployment. These kinds of violations can produce work stress, health problems, and even early death. Other men feel violated by women who manipulate them in response to complicated gender role dynamics. Men's violations of others have been a central topic in the media and the women's movement since the 1970s (Cell V_3). As mentioned in the introduction, men's gender roles have been associated with violations such as rape, sexual abuse, and family violence. The degree to which gender roles contribute to these violations is unknown, yet both theory (Finkelhor, 1984; Russell, 1984) and research to show causal

relationships (Hunt, 1980). What has not been explained is how gender role conflict stimulates men's violence and the complex psychological dynamics with others. Gender role violations represent the most severe kind of gender role conflict because direct harm is inflicted on oneself or others.

Application

The nine cells in Table 3 provide the most personal, psychologically rich, and situationally specific way to assess men's gender role conflict. The personal experience of being devalued, restricted, or violated provides an operationally defined vocabulary to describe men's deeper experience of gender role conflict. The three situational contexts describe possible ways for men to understand how these conflicts occur in themselves or with others. Often clients need an emotional vocabulary and a situational focus to label their gender role dynamics before actual changes can occur. In men's groups and educational programs, Table 3 can be used to stimulate participants' personal feelings of devaluation, restriction, and violation. Discussions of how other people stimulate these dimensions and how men actually express them toward others can be provocative and educational.

Implications of a Diagnostic Schema to Assess Men's Gender Role Conflict

A diagnostic schema assessing men's gender role conflict has been presented in this chapter. Four critical diagnostic activities are implied by the diagnostic schema in Table 1. Practitioners can use the diagnostic schema with individual men in counseling, with men's groups, and in educational programs.

The schema in Table 1 does not suggest an ordered process of assessment using assessment domains A through D. Therapists and programmers can make assessments of men in any order that is conducive to decreasing resistance to the exploration process. Some men may first want exploration of their thoughts and values, others may seek knowledge of their specific patterns of gender role conflict, and others may want to disclose their personal experience of gender role devaluations, restrictions, and violations. Therapists and programmers can complete an overall assessment of the domains in Table 1 and proceed with approaches that best facilitate a working alliance and growth.

Programmatic efforts and therapeutic interventions are more likely to be successful if they are based on conceptualizations of men's and

women's socialization and needs assessment data. Assessment schemas are useful to the extent that they help men discover the complexity of their socialization experiences. Helping men look inside themselves to ascertain how they think, feel, and have personally experienced gender role conflict is crucial.

Recently, I have used the metaphor of the gender role journey as a nonthreatening description of the exploration process (O'Neil, 1986; O'Neil & Roberts Carroll, 1988). The gender role journey is the process of examining how our gender role socialization experiences have promoted our growth or how sexism has affected our lives negatively. In other words, the journey involves reevaluating how masculinity and femininity have affected us in the past and present. This process can be both a retrospective analysis of early family experiences as well as a future projection of self. I have used biographic sketches of famous men's and women's gender role journeys to legitimatize personal exploration and growth (O'Neil & Roberts Carroll). For example, presenting John Lennon's gender role transformation (O'Neil, 1988) by using biographical sources, music, and video footage can give men vivid examples of how to process their own gender role journeys. Practitioners can alternate between carefully prepared schemas and affectively charged media that describe both the costs of socialized sexism and the possibilities for personal transformation.

Cognitive understanding of gender role conflict without affective awakening is usually insufficient to promote lasting change with men. Likewise, affective awakening, without cognitive understanding of the emotions experienced, also may be insufficient. Interventions that carefully organize both cognitive and affective experiences are more likely to stimulate the empowerment that men need to make real life changes. Diagnostic concepts provide an organized way to understand the process of change cognitively. The charged, emotional media can help men translate these understandings into deeper feelings that block growth and behavior change. Individual checklists and small group activities that help men assess their thoughts, feelings, and behavioral patterns can help focus discussion and collective explorations.

The diagnostic schema needs further development and extension. Specifically, the schema's components all imply focused assessments of men's early gender role socialization and experiences with mothers, fathers, and siblings. Future conceptualizations could isolate the factors that contribute to men's gender role conflicts at an early age and hypothesize how these factors contribute to men's difficulty over the life span. Furthermore, the diagnostic schema does not address women's gender role conflict. Future conceptualizations could explicate how women's gender role conflict can be assessed. This conceptualization would be particularly useful for marriage and family therapists working with men and women

simultaneously. Therapists and programmers are also encouraged to apply specific theories of counseling and psychotherapy to the diagnostic schema in Table 1. More specific analyses are needed to demonstrate how behavioral, psychodynamic, and cognitive theories relate to the assessment paradigm.

Therapists and programmers can be pivotal in helping men make comprehensive assessments of their gender role conflict. These assessments can empower men to develop a healthy sense of their masculinity. Gender role assessments are important if men are to enter the 1990s with a new, positive sense of strength and convictions that mute the societal blame that typified the 1980s.

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In counseling and therapy with adult men, work themes are prominent because work—defined as performance and mastery in competitive situations—is such a major element of adult male identity and self-esteem.

Chapter 4
CAREER THEMES IN COUNSELING AND PSYCHOTHERAPY WITH MEN

Thomas M. Skovholt

Performance and Mastery Route to Male Self-Esteem

Painting a picture of men's lives often results in a work-dominated landscape. This occurs because a central adult role for men involves performance and mastery in competitive situations. Men's identity is a result of this role. For example, the first question at a gathering, "What do you do?" directly ties identity to occupation. Also, the traditional last names for many men—Smith, Joyner, Haymaker, Slater, Farmer—tie identity directly to occupation-based performance. To a significant degree, self-esteem is a direct result of this mastery. The individual achieves this self-esteem through two forces: first, through the reinforcement of others—men who look up to the winners of male races (i.e., the top salesman at a battery and tire store); women who seek and reward such men (i.e., the female attraction to successful men in public arenas such as politics and music); and children who treat successful men as major or minor heroes (i.e., congressmen); and, second, through self-reinforcement that results from internalized expectations. Those who succeed at this race are privileged members of most human societies. Lack of success at this male role often leads to painful consequences because there are few other established routes to self-esteem for men aside from the performance and mastery route. This sentiment was captured succinctly by a 53-year-old male client who recently suffered a career setback. He explained his great distress when he said, "If you don't work hard and get success, there is nothing else."

Sports

Because the adult male self-esteem arena is narrowly defined and centered on mastery and successful performance, boys at a young age

begin preparing for this arena. The sports field is a childhood and adolescence practice field for male adult life. There, the central task is to compete over and over again against other boys using a set of rules that produces clear winners and losers. Although skill development in a particular sport, such as hitting a baseball, is often the focus of effort, a less obvious focus is learning the rules, attitudes, and behaviors of the adult male world. Being able to hit a baseball or make a free throw has little value in the adult world because fewer than 1/10 of 1% of adult men are employed as professional athletes in the United States. Rather, the knowledge of the rules, the proper attitudes, and the right behaviors are critical when young men enter the work world that is the playing field of adult life. Thus, learning how to cooperate to reach a common goal is a constant theme in team sports. Emotional intimacy and intense connectedness to teammates is often as dysfunctional as the other end, extreme individualism. So, as adults, men often cooperate well together but also report that they have no best friend in the female sense of that term.

A central attitude taught on the playing field is that the "game is not over 'til it's over" and that one should be optimistic and hopeful. A related behavior is to learn a sequence that involves trying hard-losing-trying hard. This is an important behavior to learn for the world of work because it is easy to try after success and to quit after failure, but it is difficult to try after failure. Yet, because the adult work world is extremely competitive, failure is a natural event. At work, it will occur and reoccur for men. So, in childhood, it is extremely important to learn the difficult behavioral sequence of trying-losing-trying. Proper emotionality is also taught. Expression of the vulnerable emotions is punished (i.e., crying) and expression of the hardened emotions is tolerated or rewarded (i.e., an outburst of anger). Hence, the playing fields of male childhood teach that the keys for adult male success are cooperation with colleagues, emotional toughness, trying until the end, and "getting up after you fall down."

In adulthood, the proving ground shifts from the playing fields of childhood to the playing fields of adult life. However, the playing fields of childhood continue to be powerful in symbolic and metaphoric ways. On Memorial Day weekend every year, millions of Americans watch a drama as the announcer states, "Gentlemen, start your engines," and the Indianapolis 500 begins. It is a very male event—there are clear winners and losers; there is a need for a kind of courage that can result in physical harm; there is cooperation with others in terms of the rules of competition, but little emotional intimacy; expressions of vulnerability are uniformly condemned and punished; and winners are praised as heroes whereas losers are forgotten. At the Indianapolis 500, male self-esteem and identity are tied directly to external performance. It is skill,

effort, tenacity, courage, and endurance that matter. Appreciation of beauty, empathy for others, a need for connectedness, strong intimacy skills, shying away from pain—these are dysfunctional.

Other sporting events communicate similar expectations. The National Basketball Association Playoffs, the World Series, the Super Bowl, and the Stanley Cup finals capture the attention of millions of Americans on an annual basis. These visible sporting events provide excitement and entertainment. Yet, perhaps their essential function is to reinforce basic assumptions and values within the culture regarding the essential sphere for adult men and the way men are judged within this sphere. Accolades go to the winners of very visible, very difficult, very painful, very demanding, and intensely competitive contests. Men and women in the audience, and with TV this includes millions of Americans, continually receive powerful messages about men's roles. The messages are given in an indirect way so that they enter the individual psyche as unarticulated assumptions about life. This is a powerful way of communicating, one that psychotherapists often attempt to use with their clients because it tends to minimize resistance.

The Military and Other Career Choices

Military training provides a second layer of socialization for male adulthood and the world of work. Military training is an intense indoctrination process that aims to turn young civilians quickly into highly disciplined, highly docile, and highly effective warriors. As part of the process, a number of traits are encouraged: aggressiveness, teamwork, low empathy for suffering, single-mindedness, and obedience to authority. Although perhaps dysfunctional in intimate relationships, all of these traits later can be adapted to the work world of performance and mastery in competitive situations (Skovholt, Moore, & Haritos-Fatouros, 1989).

Besides the military, a variety of other career arenas such as politics, business, the arts, government, and science, constantly present their highly successful performance and mastery male models to the public (e.g., an astronaut, orchestra conductor, corporate C.E.O., Nobel Prize winner in science). These men are usually received positively by the public. Young boys learn early to attempt to "be like them."

Role Models

In addition to these career socialization processes, male roles are learned in other ways. Older men within a family such as fathers, older brothers, uncles, grandfathers and great-grandfathers, or community

express the proper male role, thereby helping to establish the stage for male adult identity and self-esteem. These are all visible models for a young man to copy and identify with on external and internal levels. Perhaps the actual jobs of these older relatives do not fit with the modern occupational world. Yet the major theme remains to be copied. The essential message is often that adult men are expected to work at a job outside the home for the decades of their adult life. Whether the job is loved, hated, intrinsically satisfying, or boring is much less relevant than the expectation that a man will work. A long-term nonworking male adult violates this strong male principle and is usually shunned and rejected.

Women's Expectations

Farrell (1986) discussed women's expectations of men in his examination of the most popular magazines, novels, and television shows women read and watch. This popular literature demonstrates that women are frequently attracted to men who are successful and reject men who fail. For the most part, the criteria center on mastery in the male adult work world where money, power, and status dimensions are central. Farrell found this pattern even in the advertisements in a magazine like *MS.*, as well as in magazines with higher subscriptions such as *Better Homes and Gardens* and *Family Circle*.

Women will often talk about sensitivity, understanding, caring, and communicating when describing desired male characteristics. However, Farrell suggested that traditional performance criteria are a prerequisite:

> Alan Alda is loved not because he's sensitive, but because he's successful and sensitive. I call this the 'Alan Alda Syndrome.' (Farrell, 1986, p. 137)

Women's expectations are, of course, of crucial importance in men's lives. One aspect of this relates to men's dependence on women. Gilbert (1987) illuminated some of the important elements of this often misunderstood and unrecognized male dependence.

Counseling Interventions

You might find descriptions up to this point an over-generalization and an overdone caricature. You may be aware of many exceptions to this portrait; you may know many men whose career issues and personal values are at odds with this characterization; you may know many women whose career issues and personal values challenge this description.

You also may be aware of the privilege that men enjoy who possess and express these traits. And, indeed, this portrait of the male role does produce privilege for men who carry it out successfully. One need only

look at lists of American corporate leaders or the wealthiest Americans. The membership in these groups, predominantly male, makes others envious. Yet it is important to remember that our work—therapy and counseling—is about human distress, disappointment, loss, inadequacy, and insufficient knowledge. People usually do not seek us out because things are going well. None of us runs a joy clinic, a place where people come when life is going well. Rather, our occupational world is a world of negative emotions and our focus is on limits in life roles and stressors individuals face. Consequently, this chapter is geared to looking at the limits of traditional male traits and characteristics.

Although there is much controversy about gender roles (e.g., what they are, if they are changing), I contend that the portrait I have painted thus far does present a set of unarticulated assumptions that guide, like an underwater rudder, the adult lives of men. Knowing about these career themes enables the therapist or counselor to be proficient in staying with and navigating the therapy and counseling process with men in individual work and men and women in marital and family work.

Case Studies

Now I would like to present cases that illuminate this major theme and the subthemes that will be described later.

Clem, the Unemployed Father

Clem, 34, was highly depressed when he began counseling. In 5 years, he had experienced a series of disasters in his work life. At 22, he began his own business of repairing machinery in a small town in a rural area. He worked hard as a newly married father with a young child. After a year, the business failed because the economy of the agricultural area was so poor. After much discussion, he and his wife, April, decided to move to a major urban area to find a better job. They moved, but the job search went poorly for Clem. Finally, out of desperation, he tried a sales job because mechanic positions were scarce. He failed miserably at the sales job. By this time in the family, there were three children and money was very scarce. The stress in the family worsened and marital conflict became severe. Clem moved out on his own, began an affair with a woman he had met, and also began drinking excessively.

By the time Clem began counseling, he was suicidal and very depressed about his failure to support his family and fulfill his role as the

primary breadwinner. He realized that moving out, the affair, and the drinking were simply ways of coping with his own sense of failure.

Counseling focused first on suicide prevention. The guilt and depression Clem felt concerning his breadwinning failures also were addressed, and he was helped to reframe and expand his own definition of himself and his self-worth. The next step involved a trait factor focus on career and occupational issues. He was given information on his abilities, interests, motivational patterns, and the work world. In addition, counseling involved job-hunting skills.

At the end of counseling, Clem was employed again as a truck mechanic making a wage below his aspirations. But he had a better psychological understanding of his disappointment and a much stronger support system. He understood more clearly that the trigger for his distress was his inability to fulfill his own and his wife's expectations for his role in the marriage and the family.

Henry, the Graduate Student

Henry was a 31-year-old Black male graduate student attending a research university on a fellowship in economics. He had grown up in the Delta region of the South and had attended a local Black college. He had done well in college, not by design, but as a result of being interested in economics and having good and helpful relationships with his professors. In his senior year, he was presented with a graduate school fellowship because of his high undergraduate GPA. He decided to accept the fellowship although it meant attending a university 600 miles away in an area where there were few minority students. He decided to attend and began the next fall. Gradually it became clearer and clearer to him that he did not fit in. He felt lonely, isolated, frightened, and insecure. He was angry because the school seemed disinterested and sometimes hostile to minority students.

Henry entered counseling at the university counseling center because he had been offered a second fellowship to continue for a doctorate, but he dreamed mostly about quitting school and returning to his small hometown where he had grown up. Issues of racism were prominent for him in counseling, but expectations for him as a man also emerged as a theme. He liked the status that could come with a PhD, but he did not want the pressure and the expectations for performance. He was a gifted student and loved the field of economics. Yet, he felt alone and needed better mentoring if he was to learn the credentialing and professional mazes he was expected to pass through. Counseling focused on all of these issues as part of helping him decide whether to go on for a doctorate.

Larry, a Disabled Tree Trimmer

Since his late teens until his mid-30s, Larry, age 52, had worked as a tree trimmer for a small firm that specialized in this work. He prided himself on being willing to do the more hazardous and difficult elements of the job. However, he became disabled one day when he fell while working on a large tree. Although he recovered physically from most of the injuries, he was barred by his physician from continuing his work as a tree trimmer. This brought on a period of crisis for Larry because his work as a tree trimmer was very important to him in terms of his own definition of himself. Larry had never been highly proficient at other activities such as art, outdoor skills, athletics, or school, or very successful in relationships with women.

Larry had gravitated to the job as tree trimmer at a local firm and gradually had developed an expertise and an identity. It did provide an income for his family, and, along with his spouse's income from a job as a waitress, they were able to care for their one child. Larry was shattered by the loss of his occupation and his identity as a person with a meaningful job. His recovery from the accident was gradual, and the acceptance of the fact that he needed to find a different job was also gradual. While he worked to make the transition to other employment, a problem that had developed in his life became even more severe. On several occasions over the course of his marriage, he had become involved in altercations with his spouse, and had been physically abusive toward her. Now with Larry's unemployment and his self-esteem even more tenuous, the abusive behavior accelerated. During one of the episodes, Larry's spouse called the police, and he was arrested, and put into the Workhouse, and court-ordered to a domestic abuse program. Larry began this program as a way to eliminate his unacceptable aggressive behaviors and also to learn more about himself and his own psychological makeup. Following the domestic abuse program, he began individual counseling for self-esteem and alternative careers. From this counseling, he gradually was able to develop an interpersonal pattern that eliminated the violence. In time he began working as an assistant at a used-car rental agency, and found that the income from that, along with his Worker's Compensation, nearly matched his former salary as a tree trimmer.

Seth, Dual-Career Man

Seth, age 29, and Mary recently completed graduate programs: he in sociology, and she in law, and moved to a new city. During graduate school, Mary was pregnant and had their first child. After the move, she became pregnant with a second child. Both Mary and Seth were very

career-oriented, but also committed to family. In the new city, Seth began a job as a research associate in a large survey research company. He felt a great deal of anxiety about this new position and a good deal of pressure to perform well. He realized that Mary, too, would feel as much pressure to perform and do well in her job. He wanted very much to be an equal parent and homemaker and assumed that role by picking certain hours of the week when he was responsible for homemaking tasks, meal preparation, and child-rearing. One of Seth's major difficulties was the lack of male models with whom to identify and talk about this kind of career and family pattern he was attempting. He had other male friends who were committed to being good parents, husbands, and workers, but there were few older men that he knew who, as younger fathers, had been invested in child-rearing as well as working, and who had spouses that were professional women. Hendel (1980) made this point in his research on highly involved fathers, that is, that they cannot use men of the older generation as models and are left, in some ways, without role models for being involved fathers in the newer sense of this term.

Seth experienced a good deal of satisfaction in his new role. However, he did feel many other emotions as well. These included guilt for not being good enough at any of the roles he was trying to play—worker, husband, father, and friend. It seemed that he was always going quickly to the next thing. Also, he was ambivalent about these roles. Although he cared about the child-rearing, he felt that his work environment gave him no credit for being a good father, and he was punished, in fact, in comparison to other men who were single or older or who were not invested in being fathers. Confusion was another emotion he felt, partly because he couldn't find a mentor, especially a male mentor, who was supportive of the way he was living his life in a dual career with his spouse. He felt quite alone at times.

Counseling was helpful to Seth in understanding the normality of his reactions and in helping him find support for the way he was attempting to live his life. He also received a variety of stress management and communication techniques that helped make his here-to-life-style less stressful and more satisfying.

Philip, Premed Student

Philip, age 19, came to the university counseling center during the fall quarter of his sophomore year, asking for assistance because he was failing a chemistry course. Having grown up in a family where academic achievement and professional careers were highly valued, Philip always dreamed and planned on entering medicine as a career field. He had a good deal of family support for this career choice, and he carefully

prepared throughout high school by taking a college prep program so that he would be optimally prepared. Now, in his sophomore year, he was doing poorly in a critical course in the premed curriculum. He was highly distressed when he entered counseling.

His first request was for assistance in order to complete the course. He wanted study skills or anything else that would help him do better in chemistry. He was eager to go along with any requests from the counselor that would help him improve as a chemistry student. At this point, Philip was not interested in looking at any other career choice. He did not seriously want to explore his values or whether a high-status, pressure-filled professional career was something he wanted. His sole desire was to get some assistance in order to be more successful in completing the course as part of being accepted into medical school.

The counseling with Philip was aimed, first of all, at anxiety reduction and academic achievement. He continued to come for a number of sessions during the term to work on these areas. It seemed that the counseling was helpful because his grade did improve in this course. However, it only improved to B- from a low C. Philip terminated the counseling relationship at the end of the term except for one return visit during the second semester. A year and a half later, he returned during his senior year. It seemed that Philip continued to push to be admitted to medical school. His grades were marginal, as was his medical school admissions test. He came back to the counselor more open to possible optional career areas. The counseling focused on a number of different themes: his own sense of failure, alternative routes to medical school in the future, other health care fields as alternatives, the role of his family in his career choice, and his own identity as a person. At the end of this counseling, Philip decided to go on for a master's degree in zoology at a regional university in the hope that his additional training in the sciences would make him more attractive to medical school. He also indicated that he now saw other possibilities for himself in the future if medicine didn't work for him. He was a bit less frantic about the future. Now it seemed that there was more than medical school or nothing.

Discussion

A review of these cases reveals the embedded nature of male role themes. A major theme is this. Performance and mastery in work situations—and the corollary commonly called breadwinning—remains a core ongoing experience for adult male identity. In this regard, Pleck (1987) said, "... fulfillment of the breadwinner role remains a central

objective for the majority of adult men in the United States (p. 25). Following are some subthemes that emerge in the previous case studies.

Career and Life Planning

Educational and occupational choices are extremely important in men's lives because, outside the home, employment takes up much of a man's time, energy, and commitment. For most men, these choices are not made in isolation but rather conjointly with a spouse or partner and often within the larger context of children, extended family, and community. How career and life planning, a more encyclopedic term, can be used to describe this larger arena. The career and life planning process is becoming increasingly complex and increasingly difficult because of all the relevant variables to consider, such as personal values, job requirements, and developmental family life stages (O'Neil & Fishman, 1986). Making wise choices in planning one's life means that one must acquire a wide variety of career and life planning skills. These include decision-making skills, developmental stage concepts, values clarification ability, trait and factor data, occupational information, holistic planning models, and a lifelong process framework.

Given the importance and complexity of this work, men will continue to need competence in this area. Both self-directed career planning (Bolles, 1988) and professional career counseling services (Kimmel & Krumboltz, 1984) will continue to be valued for this purpose.

Performance Failure Distress

If much of the male equation is occupational success = self-esteem, then some men do well in the self-esteem area. How about the others? Repeatedly studies suggest that occupational aspirations are not matched by available jobs. "Most [men] work in jobs where they cannot live out the 'American Dream' as portrayed by the media. The number of individuals in professional white collar occupations account for only 15% of all employed men, or 8% of the total male population" (Harris, cited in DuBois & Manning, 1987, pp. 70–71). Also, there will continue to be a surplus of college graduates, and those graduates who will often end up in low-paying jobs will be part of the following equation: high levels of education = low pay = serious job dissatisfaction (Wegmann, Chapman, & Johnson, 1989). The gap between expectations and reality is an especially severe problem for men with less than college educations who have been in blue collar career ladders or who had aspired to be in these career ladders. "Well paid jobs which used to be open to persons with

relatively little formal education, however, seem to be disappearing with particular speed" (Wegmann et al., p. 19).

In addition, the labor market is changing rapidly, with jobs being created and jobs disappearing. The experience of unemployment can be stressful and traumatic. Robert Carter Capon (1987) wrote about being fired:

> For a while, admittedly, the shock of being let go numbs a man, enabling him to function as if nothing life-threatening were happening. And often nothing is—at first. Money, from either severance pay or unemployment benefits, enables him at least to subsist; moreover, his lifelong conviction that he is a marketable commodity has not yet been contradicted by rejection. For a few days or weeks, he actually enjoys his leisure. But then (assuming he is not snapped up at twice the salary), the bloom slowly begins to fade. Desired jobs are not offered, offered jobs turn out to be deeply undesirable. . . . A hundred fears come together in the anguish of a man's being out of work: failing to provide, losing an outlet for his talents or his masculinity, being deserted by his friends, destroying his future.
>
> But every item in that mixed bag is, appropriately or inappropriately, tied to the grand, almost sacramental fear of being without money. (pp. 179–180)

Performance failure distress is a major theme in the lives of many men. If the goal of adult male life is to compete and win in the sphere of a narrow, hierarchical ladder, then failure is inevitable. Failure can occur in many subareas, such as an inability to get an apprenticeship in the trade one desires, finishing at a less-than-expected rank in a military training school, missing a promotion, having one's play rejected, being demoted, and losing the business or farm to foreclosure. The emotions of performance failure distress often involve depressive effects. Suicidal thoughts can be the outcome of male performance failure. For example, a major symbol of the stock market crash of the 1929s is the picture of men on Wall Street jumping from the windows after the market fell. More recently, displaced farmers have suffered enormous performance failure distress. For example, a rural career counseling hotline at the University of Missouri was flooded with calls from farm families in Missouri. Themes expressed in the calls revealed great difficulty in coping. Grieving, frustration, denial, passivity, and cynicism were some of the emotional themes expressed by callers (Heppner, Johnston, & Brinkhoff, 1988).

Singlemindedness

Successful achievement often results from a concerted focus on a narrow sphere with much energy, a belief in one's ability, and some luck.

This is the formula many men use in their adult work lives. This strong external focus on achievement can produce what Fasteau (1975) called the male machine. It is a style criticized in the early men's literature (David & Brannon, 1976). Of course, the successful male machine is also greatly admired by a society where money-power-status is the most desired male commodity.

Are there any negative consequences? An obsessive and excessive occupational style has been called workaholism. The individual may lose track of himself in an emotional psychological sense and become insensitive to the needs of others in his life such as spouse, children, extended family, friends, coworkers, and neighbors. He may neglect his own physical health. Some writers suggest that this style partly explains the short male life expectancy versus the longer female life expectancy (Farrell, 1986).

Losing one's life to work can result from this pattern. Although the material benefits and sense of achievement from an obsessive work orientation can be significant, one loses time. Many men regret the loss of the chance to be with their young children because of work. Then when the children are teenagers or have left the house, the father may show his work obsession and desire more involvement. Unfortunately, by this time, the children may be focused on independence and autonomy. One client told me how his physician father felt so much regret at the time of his death because he had worked all the time and missed being involved with his family. Yet, the modeling, expectations, and rewards of singlemindedness will continue to attract many men in adulthood.

Ambivalence About Career and Life Goals

As the road map for women's lives expands and changes, does the adult road map for men's lives also expand and change? The most accurate answer seems to be yes and no. Men are increasingly conscious of alternatives to singlemended breadwinning and some of the costs associated with this route. For example, diminution of personality has been suggested as a cost of external success. Many intrinsic pleasures such as expressing one's creativity must, at times, be sacrificed for job success. Yet men often do not choose these other routes. Some of this may be due to the lack of clarity regarding alternatives. Friedan (1981) said:

> The trouble is, once they disengage themselves from the old patterns of American masculinity and success—John Wayne, Lindbergh, John Kennedy—men today are just as lost for lack of role models as women are. (p. 110)

Also, it seems that clearly superior alternative routes do not exist. Most of the high-status occupations have been traditionally held by men. The energetic movement of women into these career fields (e.g., law, business, ministry) is not being equalled by men's moving in another direction. All the possible male moves seem to offer mixed results—some advantages and some disadvantages.

For example, one alternative is to voluntarily step off the treadmill or to avoid stepping on it in the first place. Men are doing this in order to devote their time, energy, and talents to jobs where the pay may be low but interest may be high, such as social causes or the arts. Perhaps a more central reason is that some men simply do not want the intense pressure and stress that performance and mastery in competitive situations entail. It may be too difficult, painful, and unpleasant. Others want more time for family, wanting the intense meaning that can come from parenting in a deep and personal sense.

Working Equitably With Women

Perhaps the infusion of women into the labor force is the single most important social event of the last half of the 20th century. Women are radically altering the sexual composition of many occupations, such as business management, medicine, the Protestant ministry, and law. For some men, working as equals with women is a welcome process that is natural and easy. Working for a woman boss is also a positive experience for some men.

For other men, however, the infusion of women into traditional male occupational territory produces unease and disquiet. The sex-segregated friendships and play periods of childhood provided a forum where boys learned to compete with boys. But competing with women may seem strange for some men. They may attempt to romanticize work relationships, find themselves expressing sexist attitudes, or experience difficulty in losing at work to women who perform at a superior level.

Being Included in the "American Dream"

If meaningful work is an essential component of adult male identity, what happens to those men left out of the dream? Racism, lack of opportunity, and other demographic factors seem responsible in the lives of many men who are severely underemployed or unemployed. A wide range of behaviors seem to correlate for adult men with the inability to have a meaningful job. These include health deterioration, interpersonal violence, and family trauma (Skovholt & Morgan, 1981). Rollo May (1972), in searching for the causes of violence, suggested that a sense of pow-

erlessness is the correlate in violent behavior. It seems that when a core of identity and self-esteem—in this case, the work role—is removed from an individual, severe stress and high levels of shame may result.

Balancing Work and Family

There is enormous pressure on contemporary couples to juggle career and family (Gilbert, 1988; Hansen, 1984; Hansen & Minor, 1986). Although women experience the bulk of this stress, men also are stressed by it (O'Neil, 1981). For example, a Gallup Poll found that 52% of men versus 35% of women experienced a great deal of work-family conflict (cited by Hansen & Minor). Men will continue to experience a variety of work-family conflicts because of their gradually increasing family role. Pleck (1979) predicted such a change in 1979:

> An increased family role is the single most important manifestation of change in the male role in contemporary history, just as increased labor force participation is probably the most important change in the female role. (p. 485)

Themes related to the balance between work and family will be prevalent in counseling and therapy with men in future years. For example, Moir (1987) described his own experience:

> My wife's announcement was not dramatic. She marched into the house after work and said, "They want me for the Paris job. . . . But within days of letting "Sure, that sounds great" slip out, I succumbed to second-guessing, reluctance, and terror. Then it struck me where my fears came from. The man in the family—me—was putting his career at the mercy of his wife's. In the starkest psychological terms, I was following her and abdicating my traditional male role. I grew up believing that I would be the breadwinner and those little girls across the schoolhouse aisle would be housewives and mothers, not professional competitors or providers. Although I have embraced the notion of career women for the last ten years, the move opened mental cubbyholes in which the idea of a working woman just didn't seem right.
>
> I'm actively challenging my assumptions about traditional male roles and forcing myself to live the beliefs about women that I've held for the last ten years. . . . (pp. 90–92)

Male Resistance to the Counseling Therapy Process

Male socialization is at such odds with the client role that a term—*male resistance*—can be used to describe the set of discontinuities that

makes counseling therapy difficult for men. Given the significant level of male emotional distress (Pleck, 1987), male underutilization of counseling therapy is surprising yet explainable when considering the male roles (Brush & Skovholt, 1982; Good, Dell, & Mintz, 1989).

In addition to male-role versus client-role discontinuities, the lack of an alternative future is another source of resistance. Men often do not envision alternatives to old ways of gaining approval. If performance, mastery, and breadwinning are not central, what can be? It seems that—as with a tree—there is only one root system, and this root system, this way to obtain substance, is buried deep in the soil of the external success dimensions. The male client may experience counseling therapy as an attempt to cut off his one root system without offering alternatives. Hence, counseling therapy may be slow and difficult for many male clients. Counselors and therapists who develop an understanding of male resistance will be better able to help these clients.

Conclusion

In counseling and therapy with adult men, work themes are prominent because work—defined as performance and mastery in competitive situations—is such a major element of adult male identity and self-esteem. It seems to be a key to life satisfaction and positive relationships with others. Although some men travel through this maze of expectations with grace, skill, and luck and reap great rewards, others get caught at one point or another. They become our clients in counseling and psychotherapy. And it is there that many of the themes discussed here become important when we attempt to reduce negative emotions and negative cognitions and increase positive behaviors of the individuals who come to us.

END

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